"Pakistan Our Irrevocable Destiny"

Malik Barkat Ali's Speech at M. S. Federation

"Freedom Will Not Drop Into Weak Hands"

Addressing the All-India Muslim Students Federation at Nagpur on December 26 last, Malik Barkat Ali, Advocate, M.L.A., (Punjab) and Member of the All-India Muslim League, said :—

"My first thought is to congratulate the members of the All-India Muslim Students Federation on the splendid manner in which they have organised themselves and the huge audiences that their meetings are attracting. The Qa'id-e-Azam observed this morning that we of the present generation cannot allow our students to throw themselves into the vortex of that political struggle that we are waging for the emancipation of our community and country from the suffocating thraldom of alien rule, including in that expression the rule both of the Englishman and of the Congress masquerading as Indian Nationalism."

"At the same time it has got to be remembered that the students of to-day are but the leaders of tomorrow, and no people, at all conscious of their responsibility towards posterity, can forget their supreme duty of so bringing up and training their raising generation that the latter become thoroughly indoctrinated with all the aspects and implications of their national programme. I am glad to notice that the Muslim students of India have thoroughly imbibed the creed of Pakistan and realise that we Muslims cannot reach the peak and summit of our national glory except on the sure and unfailing foundations of Pakistan."

Delusion

"Some of our friends cherish the fond delusion that Pakistan is but a passing phase in the national life of Islam, and they point with obvious glee to what they think are ominous portents on the horizon of Bengal, showing that the wonderful facade of Unity, laboriously built up during the last five years by the Qa'id-e-Azam, has begun to give way. The unmistakable reference is to the treachery of the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq. These friends little realise that before long this treachery will be avenged and that the Hon'ble Mr, Fazlul Huq will see himself soon burried under the debris of that ramshackle Ministry which he has gathered round himself, and that the League will emerge the stronger and the purer from this incident. In fact, we are really thankful to Heaven that we are at this early stage of our national struggle disencumbered of hollow friends and interested speculators, but if our friends continue to live under their fond delusion, and hug to themselves the belief that the Muslim League structure has begun to show cracks, they are free to do so and may shut their eyes to the realities as they unfold themselves on the shifting panorama of time and circumstances."

"So far as we are concerned, our determination shows no slackening, our resolve to consecrate our life and our talents, our speech and our song, our thoughts and our dreams to the achievement of that goal which the Qa'id-e-Azam has placed before the Muslims of India as their fixed and irrevocable destiny remains unshakeable; our *caravan* moves on and shall continue to move on until we step into the Holy Land of Pakistan.

Baptism of Fire

"Let us look at the matter a little deeper. You all know that five years ago we were all devoted to the ideal of a united India. If you look up the constitution of the All-India Muslim League before we adopted Pakistan at the Lahore Session of the All-India Muslim League you will find that in the forefront of our aims and objects figured the goal of establishing in India full independence in the formation of a Federation of Free Democratic States in which the rights and interests of the Musalmans and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the constitution. Our leaders at the Round Table Conference also pledged themselves to federation, based on Provincial Autonomy of the federating units. But that baptism of fire through which the Muslims of the Congress-governed provinces passed during the two and a half years of Congress rule—the rule of Shuklas Misras and Pants—completely changed our dreams, and Muslim policy, accordingly, underwent a complete orientation. We are pledged to day to no centre. We ask for the partition of India into Hindu India and Muslim India."

The Recipe

"The Congress leaders at first took this change in the policy of the Muslim League most lightheartedly Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru thought he could kill the growing influence of the League over the Muslim masses by his recipe of the Muslim Mass Contact movement. That recipe failed totally and the Muslim Mass Contact movemnet met an abrupt and speedy death.

"The next movement started to capture the imagination ot India was the demand for a declaration on the part of England of complete independence of India and of a constitution to be framed by a constituent assembly, elected on the basis of adult franchise with the further guarrantee that the Muslims shall be free to choose their representatives through separate electorates. This plea of a constituent assembly also failed of its purpose, and the Muslims very clearly saw through it and rejected it summarily. On the face of it, a constituent assembly, on the basis of adult franchise, would reflect in its composition the large Hindu majority. How could the Musalmans accept a constitution framed by a constituent assembly in which the Hindus dominated. Of course, if it had been said that the decisions of the constituent assembly, to be acceptable, shall be unanimous, there would have been some sense and logic behind the demand."

Elementary Truth

"It is an admitted fact of constitutional history and Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, has stated it clearly, and Mr. Amery has said many wise things, that a durable constitution is always the outcome of mutual consent and arrangement. But the Congress has not yet realised this elementary trut and is still harking back to England for a declaration of India's independence."

The latest stunt invoked is the unity of India, and the application to it of the democratic principles that already obtain in socially homogeneous groups. So far as the Unity of India is concerned, Mr. H. G. Wells has recently in his reply to Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru described this Unity as an 'administrative phantom which is already fading out of existence.' He says that there are indeed more people, languages and extremes of social culture in India than in all Europe, and that what Mr. Nehru wants is that power should be handed over to a 'small minority of political amateurs representing at the most extravagant estimate not more than one in four hundred Indians.'

Popular Will

"As regards democracy, the difficulty about modern democracy is that the ballot paper and the majority vote in assemblies give quite unbridled powers to the majority for the time being and it is regarded not fashionable to recognise any limitations upon the will of the majority. The Congress or Hindu position is really strange and difficult to understand. If Muslims seek to place restrictions upon the power of the Hindu majority they are accused of opposing the popular will. But if they try the other solution of accepting the popular will and insist upon forming fairly homogeneous States in which that will shall be Muslim, they are accused of violating the unity of India."

"The Congress should face the situation and should cease to hark back to England for declarations of all kinds, ranging between Independence and Dominion Status. But if in order to shelve the Muslim demand of Pakistan they continue to look to England for declarations, incompatible with and ruling out Pakistan, then let me frankly warn them that they may continue to look and look at England, the luscious fruit and coveted prize of Freedom shall never drop into their weak and palsied hands."